UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Who Shall Get Title to the Pay Dirt of America? - - - - - - - *Waitstill H. Sharp*

The Hope of a World Order - - - - - - - - - - *Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri*

To Aid the Incautious and the Irritating - - - - - - - - - *Alfred McClung Lee*

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THE FIELD

ACLU Board Policy

The Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, in a policy statement, recently called the Communist movement in the United States part of an "international conspiracy" whose aim is "to seize power—political, social, and economic—wherever it can." The Board also reasserted its determination to defend the civil liberties of "any person, however unpopular that person or his views may be, and regardless of any political party, organization, denomination, race or nationality to which that person may belong."

The statement followed a statement the Board had adopted on February 15 at the conclusion of the first Biennial Conference of the ACLU Corporation, held February 12-15, and attended by representatives of ACLU's 18 local affiliates, and its National Committee and Board. That statement assailed current attacks on civil liberties, such as "guilt by association and judgment by accusation," and reaffirmed the ACLU's policy of not having on its national and local Board, committees, and staff any person "who accepts the discipline of any political party or organization which is under the control or direction of any totalitarian government, whether Communist or Fascist. . . ."

"On February 15, 1954, the Board of the ACLU unanimously adopted a statement asserting its intention 'to defend the civil liberties of any person, however unpopular that person or his views may be, and regardless of any political party, organization, denomination, race, or nationality to which that person may belong.' At the same time, the ACLU reasserted its policy to have no Board or committee or staff member, national or local, 'who does not believe in civil liberties or who accepts the discipline and control of any political party or organization which is under the control or direction of any totalitarian government, whether Communist or Fascist, which itself does not believe in civil liberties or, in practice, crushes civil liberties.'

"The Board recognizes the dual nature of the operations of the Communist movement in the United States at the present time. While that movement seeks to give the

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UNITY

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EDITORIAL

The mess in Washington, created by the controversy between the Army and a U. S. Senator, is within the Republican family, and the Democrats may be pardoned for maintaining a certain philosophical detachment from it. But the Democrats should not gloat, for they know what it is to be charged with creating a mess. As citizens, however, all of us—both Democrats and Republicans—have a responsibility for cleaning up the present mess in Washington. It is a disgrace to the country, both at home and abroad, to have a U. S. Senator running hog-wild and making charges of subversion and treason on the right and the left and in the middle of the road. It should now be evident to the Republican leadership that they cannot sponsor charges of twenty years of treason without themselves suffering unpleasant consequences. After all, Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles, not to mention a long list of reputable Republicans, were a part of that twenty-year record. Now that a reckless and irresponsible U. S. Senator—who shall here be nameless—has turned his Gatling guns on leaders of the Republican Party, they may have reason to regret their sponsorship of his equally irresponsible charges against leaders of the Democratic Party. It is not a pretty picture when the Army charges a U. S. Senator and a member of his staff with attempting to high-pressure the Army into giving preferential treatment to an Army private, and when the selfsame U. S. Senator accuses the Army of attempting to blackmail him into calling off an inquiry into Army affairs. As these lines are written, the mess grows rapidly worse. The sub-committee of the Senate, of which the U. S. Senator in question is Chairman, had employed a prominent Boston attorney on the basis of his statement that he had taken no position, either publicly or privately, on the issue of the "ism" derived from the name of the Senator. Whereupon the committee and the whole country discovered that the Boston attorney had in fact gone all out in support of the Senator, including efforts to raise campaign funds to help reëlect him. What confidence could the country have had in an investigation conducted under such questionable auspices! The Boston attorney promptly resigned. The mess continues. When the Senator got by with his outrageous charges against General Marshall without suffering retribution, he naturally thinks he can take on lesser military figures. It is high time that the Republican leadership publicly and effectively disavowed the Senator. They cannot hug a viper to their collective bosom and expect not to be bitten.

Curtis W. Reese.

Who Shall Get Title to the Pay Dirt of America?*

WAITSTILL H. SHARP

1. The Paradox of Leadership. February, the shortest of our months, is freighted with the deepest of our memories and hopes. February is a time of gratitude and perspective. A more pervasive unity and high agreement ought to come to flower in America during this second month of each year than during any other time. Now split-road situations, hours of tension, and a sense of parodox are in disrepute these days. But it is fortunate that once each year we Americans can consider the paradox of Washington and Lincoln; that we can live for a few days with the contrasting records of the sources of their personal devotion to American liberty and their effective leadership. Distraction—the necessity to observe two centers of reckoning at one time—is accounted a human predicament. But this February paradox of Americans is no predicament. It is our good fortune beyond words to describe. For significance always comes in two's, in dialogues, in tensions, in dualisms, such as the lives of Washington and Lincoln illustrate; seldom in one's, in monisms, and in monologues.

Washington was probably the richest and the most favored of all those in the galaxy of the Revolutionists. Who was more wealthy in lands, in social standing, in slaves? Who had more to lose? Who was more certain than was George Washington to be singled out to lose all this in the event of a British victory? Washington's life, his fortune, and his sacred honor were utterly committed to the two perils of the Revolution: (1) British military victory. (2) The social disorder that might follow (and did follow) the defeat of the British. There are no precedents for something that has not happened. Democracy had not happened in the world of 1775. There was not a significant operating democracy in that eighteenth century world. If the voice of history could have warned one man, "You have everything to lose by this choice of Revolution," that man was George Washington. "If the British win, you will be carried to England in chains and hung from the yardarm of a man-of-war before the Tower of London. If the British lose, the mob of unpaid soldiers and the city poor will take over and the thirteen Colonies will be swept by that horror of inflation and anarchy which is more dreadful than military occupation."

And in the same month, we think upon Abraham Lincoln rising to the Presidency from frontier ignorance and penury, Abraham Lincoln with but ten months of systematic schooling!

The debate between our admirations for these two Americans will never be ended. We are fortunate—both personally and as citizens of a nation—for such a division of love and wonderment as these two men induce; and for our lifelong necessity to organize and to reorganize our information and reflection upon each of these pioneers. The truth is that no American can send to himself, let alone send to others, adequate signals of his gratitude for the lives of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

2. Lincoln the Greater. I submit that Abraham Lincoln Centre carries the name of the greater American, of the greatest American. This is the 145th birthdate of that mighty tree in our national forest. George Washington will always remind us of what an American can sacrifice, can jeopardize, to serve his country. Abraham Lincoln will always recall to us what an American can become to serve his country. George Washington will always recall how an American can assume leadership. Abraham Lincoln will always recall how an American can grow into leadership. Each will recall how an American can be trusted.

What were the impulses of the leadership of Abraham Lincoln? What were his prevailing moods? What were the outcropping ledges of his thought and emotion? What were the devices which he used to engage his fellow-Americans in the love of their land and in sacrifice for her safety? Of what healing ministries did the assassin's bullet rob the divided nation and the prostrate Southland as the Civil War ended? These were the prevailing moods of Abraham Lincoln: Patience, humility, truth-speaking, the passion for national unity in a time of peril, and reconciliation after struggle.

3. How Low Is Lincoln's Honor Sunk. How low is the honor of Abraham Lincoln fallen on this, his 145th birthday! Is what is going on today across our unhappy land the best we can do to remember this man of patience and humility and truth-speaking; this teacher of unity in a time of peril, and of reconciliation after struggle? With these words we honor him: the tavern-language defamation of fellow-Americans by Sherman Adams, by Haggerty, by Scott McLeod, by McCarthy, by Leonard Hall; the booming winds of the five hucksters-of-fear, Jenner and Velde, Ferguson and McCarran and Bricker; with the Governor of Texas demanding the death penalty for *membership* in the Communist Party; and the Democrats in Congress scrambling to sponsor Martin Dies' bill to *outlaw* the Communist Party. Is that brew of slander, and anxiety-peddling, and division-in-time-of-peril, our cup of gratitude and hope to the majestic unifying memory of Abraham Lincoln? Is this raging the best which the American people can hear now? Place yourselves tonight in the immortal silence of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. Look up to the vast white seated figure of our man of sorrows gazing out over the city, whereto he came from humble poverty and where he died. Ask yourselves how is Abraham Lincoln honored by a single word or thought which has been framed this week. Has this pandering to fear and hatred exemplified the patience, the humility, the passion for the indivisible Nation, the motives of reconciliation, the truth-speaking, of this man?

4. "America Was Promises." I wish that we could restore the day of the public orator, but before we go to sleep tonight we should read at least the last lines of the poem, "America Was Promises," by Archibald MacLeish. Failing that discipline, we ought to ask our ministers to read that poem on this Sunday which lies between the birthdates of our two greatest Americans. That poem reminds me of these words of Abraham Lincoln spoken during the First Inaugural in 1861:

> This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

The American issue has always been clearly drawn. The lines of the American Revolution have never faded.

*Address prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of Abraham Lincoln Centre, February 12, 1954.

But many persons there have been in American history and are today who cannot see them. The issue is as clearly drawn today, 145 years after the birth of Abraham Lincoln, as it was then and in 1861: *"Who owns America?"* "Does this country and its institutions belong to the people who inhabit it?" A war is going on now for the pay dirt of America; and I think that free, privately-maintained agencies like Abraham Lincoln Centre have much to do with the outcome of that struggle. You and I can easily see the *mud* and the *whitewash* in this Donnybrook Fair. But we cannot so easily discern the *motivations.* The shibboleths of the *whitewash* crew are words like "free enterprise" and "capitalistic system" and "private initiative." These are the praise-words. The shibboleths of the *mud* crew are words like "Communist," "fellow-traveller," "subversive," "liberal," "Socialist," and "controversial." These are the craze words—the slander stink bombs, the fouls below the belt, the fear-triggers with which to open the Pandora's box of violent reaction, and vigilantism, among the insecure. We live in a time of crude *phenomena;* and behind the phenomna, hidden *manipulations*; and behind the manipulations, *motivations.* These are the crude *phenomena*:

Public and private defamation of character without due process.
Thought-control in public schools and libraries.
The steady shrinkage of our national press until now city after city is served by only one newspaper or by two newspapers owned by the same local or national combine.
Terror on our college campuses—loyalty oaths and the planting of intelligence officers to spy on teachers and students.
The intimidation of our clergy and the outright purchase of bellwether rams like Norman Vincent Peale and the Fifield Brothers and the Fundamentalist McIntyre.
The propagation of panic about our foreign policy.
The sale of fear about our immigration policy and the nullification of what immigration policy we have enacted into law.

These are the visible phenomena starring Joseph McCarthy, Secretary of Fear.* Behind these phenomena, several *manipulations* are at work; and behind the manipulations one malignant *motivation.* These are the manipulations:

(1) To gratify the reactionary office holders, the stooges like McCarthy who will obey the Master's voice to sell fear.
(2) To gratify the frightened voter, to provide an action-outlet for the frustrated and anxious . . . "I am doing something patriotic in getting this man Goslin out of Pasadena."

The basic motivation of a few at the top of our pyramidal society is this: To stop the American Revolution where it is and to reverse that Revolution; to produce a static society; first to hold off and then to kill off the promise of the dynamic society to which Abraham Lincoln looked forward; to get title to the pay dirt of America. Their motivation is to make, manage, and bequeath the maximum of money with a minimum of social controls. So we see the tearing down of the public domain and its parcelling out to the highest bidders: the forest lands for the lumber kings; the grazing lands for the cattle kings; the oil and gas lands for the fuel kings; the power-sites like Niagara and Hell's Canyon for the kilowatt kings. And now the atomic resources come to the block—developed at billions of dollars of the public treasury—for the atomic kings. The bigness of the bidder is his ticket to the auction. The ability of the highest bidder to bid high is the sole justification for the sale. Magnitude can do no wrong. This is the doctrine: Those that have should get. America was promises. Now America is profits.

5. How Shall We Prime the American Revolution? The key to the fight is to see through the facade. We must see through the front, pierce the Party Line among the secretaries of fear on the Far Right, as on the Far Left. Each of them is selling the static society, the grooved social order, the retrospective, the status-worshipping, the hierarchical, precedent-conserving, black-on-white, "either or," intransigeant monolithic State, vindictive at home against all dissent and exploiting or abandoning all abroad. We must see through the galaxy of moral pretensions for what they screen on both the Far Right and the Far Left: a philosophy of organized avarice, a rationalization of a power-grab. The goal of each is the same: the creation of a static pyramidal society exploited by the elect.

Thus we behold this paradox: a civil war among the materialists, the self-elect of the Far Right (the Oil Lands Lobby, the Grazing Lands Lobby, the Forest Reserves Lobby, the Salmon Canners Lobby, the Power Sites Lobby and now the Atomic Energy Lobby) in full agreement on all except one matter with those whom they traduce most savagely, the self-elect of the Far Left (the Communists). The basic conviction of both the Far Right and the Far Left is this: that the world-struggle is materialistic, for a monopoly of the earth's economic resources; that *Mann ist was er isst* (*"Man is what he eats,"* Feuerbach). The one unsettled question is: Which one of these hierarchies of the self-elect shall grab the power and collect the profits? Thus a civil war among the materialists. Historians have long held that no conflict yields such pathologies as that between kindred. Thus the immediate phenomenon: the leadership of both the Far Right and of the Far Left terrifying the peoples of every nation, inducing mass-hysteria against every form of dissent or criticism.

"States Rights" was the facade in Lincoln's day to justify human slavery. "God's law" is Bishop Sheen's facade today to fight planned parenthood. "Pre-election" is the facade of the Calvinist Boers behind which to exploit racial injustice in South Africa. And in this fight of the Far Left and of the Far Right to extinguish the American Revolution—pitted against the fight of the people of the Third Way to continue the American Revolution—we of the Third Way need constant accretions of vigilance, tough-mindedness, to recognize the supplies of mud and whitewash for the motivation which these represent in GHQ far behind the lines. The "carriers" (in a contagious sense) are the water-boys like McLeod and McCarthy spreading out all over the country to terrify the people; avowedly to frustrate the insecure into willingness to resort to violence against critical thought. But the mud and the whitewash which they carry are the buckets supplied by a gang intent upon freezing the American social process; confirming monopolies; alienating all of the public domain (which can be exploited); reversing the social inquiries and criticisms by agencies like Abraham Lincoln Centre and making these agencies accept one single social duty, *amelioration,* and abandon all *reconstructive* intent and expression. Amelioration is the wiping of noses; and the dispensation of sympathy and routine advice to unmarried mothers; the answering of housing questionnaires (to be placed on file); the adjustment of neighborhood quarrels.

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*We are indebted to Palmer Hoyt, publisher of the *Denver Post* and a member of the American Civil Liberties Union's National Committee, for this definition of McCarthyism which he shared with a group of educators in a mid-July 1953 address at Harvard University: *"McCarthyism is the totalitarian device of making the charge more important than the law, the evidence, the verdict, or the trial."*

6. The Future of the Private Social Agency: Revolution or Resignation? Death has taken Jane Addams, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Graham Taylor, Mary Kingsbury Simkovitch and Robert Woods from us. And for the past twenty-five years we have lived at second-hand with the urban problem. We have been doubtful about the role of the private social agency like Abraham Lincoln Centre. But now we have been warned. We ought to doubt no longer about the role of the private social agency. We—the Third Way people of the dynamic, equalitarian Commonwealth society—are threatened on the Left and on the Right. We work by the light of two fires which have been set to burn up the American Revolution. A modern civil war is going on for social controls in America. And the signs of these times ought to reveal even to him who runs a greater significance than ever for the private social agency like Abraham Lincoln Centre. Indeed, this grim old fortress is a bastion of defense and a base camp for advances—if its Board and its staff cannot be bought out or terrified. I think of Abraham Lincoln Centre as dedicated in the name of the Emancipator to the continuing American Revolution through the two healing ministries of *intelligence* and *compassion.* These are the overarching disciplines—the pervasive and informing moods—of any institution carrying the name, "Abraham Lincoln." The people ought to feel toward this house as all who knew him felt toward Abraham Lincoln: "Here we shall always meet wisdom and a clear mind. Here we shall always meet solicitude, the kind heart." These two ministries of intelligence and compassion are consecrated to the two-fold historic output of the private social agency, whether it be a college, a church, or a neighborhood house:

(1) **Amelioration:** Saving the individual, helping the individual to pass the immediate road blocks of poverty, illness, discord, ignorance, confusion, in his own successive personal problem situations.

(2) **Reconstruction:** Engaging the individual. This is revolutionary duty, the continuous revision and reconstruction of society through revealing options for the continuous revision and reconstruction of the mind and conscience of the individual. To keep the individual dynamic is to keep our society dynamic. To engage the individual is to ally the individual in person-to-person relationships; to help the solo artist to play in the orchestra; to reach out for all the available truth; to commit himself to serve in the power groups that must see the promise of America for the people and capture that promise for the people. This is to keep the tyrant in ourselves at bay.

The Hope of a World Order

BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI

It seems to be nearly certain that the second half of the twentieth century is likely to witness a sort of double metamorphosis in the fast loosening of the popular craze about "international," on the one hand, and a growth of artificial "internationalism" of culture without precedent, on the other.

The voice of the last century—carrying the hope of Hugo, Tolstoy, and Proudhon—conveyed also the happy message of a truth that may be summed up in a simple line: "That one was more of a man, the less he was tied to his country." Surely, Victor Hugo, along with other political divines of the nineteenth century, hoped that the United States of Europe would one day emerge out of political mish-mash and that these again would possibly merge into something like the United States of the World. But unfortunately the facts of this half of the twentieth century belie this pious hope. For now, when the United States of Europe is being forged on the anvil of the Atlantic Charter as "a weapon against aggression," the prospect of their attaining early efflorescence into one undivided homogeneity—like that of a real United States of the World—apparently becomes, when viewed in the prevailing political context of the world, a far cry.

Indeed, when one surveys the intellectual topography of Europe, let alone the world, the outlook at once seems to be more distressing than what Rodin could possibly have depicted in his bronze sculpture of the primeval Thinker at the Portal of Hell—musing on tragic consequences of crimes and passions that his descendants had brought about in the world.

Thus it seems that, due to the impact of world events of contemporary times, the aphorism stated before takes an amended shape in this half of the twentieth century: "That, henceforth, one will be more of a man, the more tied he becomes to the power pulley of nations."

There is, thus, no doubt that mankind today is threatened not only with the superweight of authority over liberty but also by a plethora of evil forces that have been unleashed in consequence of World War II and that seem to be at work to depersonalize man and to presage a worse future for him than the nineteenth century Thinker could ever dare foretell in bronze.

The idea of a doomed civilization has gained so much ground that a spirit of "historicism" has imparted to civilization an organic life cycle. Oswald Spengler, Dean Inge, and Aldous Huxley, noted philosophers, apparently would afford mankind no hope, no pardon, no indulgence, no remission in the oncoming doom.

The sum and substance of the above lines results in a vital lesson: the only hope of a world civilization lies in the cultural and religious synthesis of its problems with a new vision. It may be pertinent to observe that UNESCO, which has sprung into being as an outcome of World War II, is now building up worldwide organizations to promote the intellectual and moral rearmament of mankind by "the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth; the free exchange of ideas and knowledge; the full and equal opportunities for education for all. . . ." Thus UNESCO also does recognize the need for a universal moral policy in founding the democratic principle of the dignity, equality, and mutual respect of men that is really of supreme value. But unfortunately it is not, as we know, a potent weapon for fighting prejudice, superstition, vice, irrationality, and a lot of social evils that prevent the formation of a universal social order in which colored and non-colored men, the Capitalist and the Communist, the theologian and the theosophist, the rationalist and the cynic, Protestant and Roman

Catholic, Hindu and Moslem may all freely live and be happy.

Unless some useful method is evolved for securing a spontaneous observance of certain moral disciplines, it is difficult to say how far humanity is likely to be benefited by the mere "unrestricted pursuit of objective truth"—an end of logical positivism, to which all nations, races, and creeds committed to the ideals of scientific Humanism give their tacit assent. Surely the moral influence can be instilled through intellectual means of mass media. This means that a moral revolution, being in itself a total psychic rearrangement of the inner man, can be expedited only by two simple methods, namely, education and integration. But the education mentioned here must not be confused with that which to the scientific Humanist is the synonym in the sense of knowledge about the structure of the universe, the facts of life, arts, science, economics, medicine, music, etc., that makes the basis of progress and constitutes the means of pursuing objective truths. The ancient Greek philosophers, like Plato, Aristotle, *et al.*, long ago made similar experiments and achieved wonderful results because they insisted not only on the pursuit of objective but also of subjective truth, viz., the education of the emotions and moral or ethical development.

Objective truth, they would have said, must never be separated from subjective truth. Indeed, its scope should never exceed the limits set by subjective truth. The limits set by subjective truth are moral limits—limits, that is to say, "determined by our sense of the good life, by our sense of a measure of harmony in the emotional and practical aspects of living." The pursuit of education in the subjective aspect needs not alone to be realized in methods sponsored by the classical school of ethics and theology. The fact is that, while one can easily formulate or moralize precepts or commandments and have these enforced through fear of hell-fire or threat of punishment, experience has proved beyond doubt that they are not only useless in putting a damaged soul in good repair but also create sometimes mental disorders, due to forced repression of normal desires or instincts of individual life.

To achieve the end of real education, therefore, happily what is necessary is to pursue a method of canalizing the instinctive urges into positive, recreative, and productive ducts so that no feelings of frustration may possibly supervene and produce a reciprocal feeling of aggression. This is what is akin in psychiatry to sublimation—the integration of the personality—and must find a pride of place in education. When, as in the case of the majority in a diseased society, that natural process of integration has never been achieved—indeed has never been attempted—then some method of therapy becomes necessary, such as was long ago hinted at by Plato and Aristotle on laying special stress on the supreme efficacy of moral education which if successfully acquired and carefully practiced can insulate humanity in a fear-proof armor against the threat of annihilation even by atom bombs!

Indeed, good deeds are self-inspired private pursuits in society of some objective truths and are their own rewards. Thus, unless and until human society insists on the formation of some natural habits for goodness beyond emphasizing the need thereof only, through academic treatises, no useful purpose can be really achieved.

It is admitted, however, that positive virtue is an active principle that reveals itself in a specified manner of life characteristic of a cool temper, contented outlook, and a flair for natural happiness, elements which are nearly becoming a rarity in life day by day due to lack of some cultural motifs of moral education—intimacy and activity, fellow-feeling and service—and which can again in nowise be created through the triple means alone of modern mass media: the radio, the press, and the cinema. Nor can a moral influence be created overnight by words however strictly confined to their intellectual usage. The essential means are, as Plato argued, aesthetic activities, by means of which the sense of goodness and nobility is inculcated—ingrained in the living substance of the human being—by the practice of concrete arts which alone have that basis of harmony and rhythm such as are found inherent in nature.

Again, liberty, equality, and fraternity, being the Trinity in aesthetic education, the more it is realized in action the better the scope of a cultural renaissance for infusing moral fervor in private as well as public life. The only habit that is clean, ennobling, and healthy for the soul and the body of man is the reflex of his own creative inner personality; that is, *what he does* makes him what virtually he is, and *how he does* determines the quality of what he is. It is only when the doing is attuned to the dignity of a regular or ritualistic art that it strikes the deepest chord of the soul and reawakens a feeling of concord and moral well-being. Such subtle and intimate changes cannot be wrought by means of mere mass propaganda, however efficient, or any polyglot organization—but they may be realized in solitude, meditation; in field, factory; in the face of the specific problems and by conscious discipline; in creative community and in communal creation; social soirée or family home—in verity, in all moments and circumstances when we want peace and desire an end to the exploitation of man by man.

The unity of mankind, or a World Order, cannot therefore be accomplished within an artificial hegemony of internationalism alone—be it sponsored by a League of Nations, United Nations, or Cominform—unless and until mankind imbibes the habit of helping, sympathizing, and understanding as well as that of living understandingly, on the religio-sociological principle taught long ago by Saint Francis of Assisi: "It is by giving that one receiveth; it is by self-forgetting that one findeth." In that way may grow the seed of concord and love in every nerve cell of mankind, and as it sprouts and blossoms new social organisms manifest, add new artistic motifs and intellectual outlook, and finally augment Life's delights. Until that becomes persistently feasible in the thought, word, and deed of every nation and consistently enforced under the aegis of the United Nations, the universal hope for a World Order, visualized by Franklin D. Roosevelt and others, remains as unrealized, too, in this century as that of Victor Hugo in the previous one.

It has been truly said that Unitarianism is not a body of beliefs but a state of mind. The open, thoughtful, reasonable and rational, optimistic mind, fearless, ready to believe, and at the same time ready always to move on to better beliefs, is the chief characteristic of Unitarianism. Unitarians have no patience with creeds; their love of freedom is too deep. Each one faces the task of making his own definition of his religion, if such a definition is to be desired.

—*Dr. Charles E. Park.*

To Aid the Incautious and the Irritating

ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

The chief thing which the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice attempts to do is to understand and to aid those incautious persons who have within themselves enough of the spirit of Jesus and other benefactors of mankind to fight effectively for basic human rights.

The UFSJ is especially concerned this year with problems in the area of freedom of conscience, including those created by the loyalty-security program, in the area of better opportunities for ethnic and racial minorities, in the defense of our public educational system, especially from efforts to impose sectarian religious ties upon our schools and teachers, and in work for peace, in the spirit of the "prince of peace."

Let me tell you briefly about some of the incautious and even irritating people whom we are helping to make their contributions in behalf of all of us in each of these areas.

1. Freedom of Conscience. The greatest battles in behalf of freedom of conscience are being fought in our times by Jehovah's Witnesses, by conscientious objectors, and by those teachers and others who stand upon their rights as American citizens under the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution and refuse to answer questions about their beliefs.

These battlers for freedom of conscience do more than merely pass resolutions. They picket. They become court cases. They are, whether you agree with them or not, on the battle lines where fundamental principles of freedom are today—for better and for worse—being tested. When their freedom falls, the freedom of every American citizen weakens. And McCarthyism has made it fall many a time. When they are given scrupulously fair trials, free of guilt by association and intimidation, the freedom of every American benefits.

2. The Loyalty-Security Program. As has already been suggested, this is in many ways a special area for the testing of freedom of conscience under our laws and court procedures. Innocent religious liberals have been damaged by prejudiced officials in the current loyalty-security program, as well as by immigration, naturalization, and passport policies related to it. In cooperation with other social justice organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the UFSJ is working for the establishment of fair treatment for all persons and especially for those disadvantaged because of their unorthodox religious beliefs and practices. Like the American Unitarian Association, the UFSJ is working for the repeal of the McCarran Act because it "is a major instrument of fear and intimidation."

Our principal accomplishment recently in this loyalty-security field has had to do with the case of the Rev. H. Lee Jones, a Unitarian clergyman who was discharged from civilian employment in the Air Force by a so-called "loyalty" board. Under the leadership of my predecessor as President of the UFSJ, Dr. Edwin H. Wilson, the UFSJ raised substantial funds and helped Jones fight his case through two bitter years to complete vindication of his loyalty and to complete reinstatement with back pay. Let me read these lines from an open letter from Jones:

> No one who has not had the experience of being ambushed and waylaid and hit over the head by "summary" suspension and baseless charges can know what one faces. One is faced by the inexhaustible wealth and power of the U. S. Government, and must go into battle, a little David against a Goliath, with nothing but his modest savings, with no income to live on in the meanwhile, and with the rules of the program stacking all the cards against him. . . . The money which came into the Lee Jones Defense Fund made it possible for us to pay our lawyer. . . . Take full credit to yourselves. . . . You helped me to get justice.

Such men remember the promise of our moral heritage, whatever they may choose to call it, and they keep it in their hearts even when they come perilously close to a twentieth century Calvary. The story of H. Lee Jones is told by Wilson in the December, 1952, *Christian Register,* by the crusader behind crusader Jones.

The UFSJ is now working for another Unitarian minister who has been similarly maligned, the Rev. Eugene W. Sutherland, long an active anti-Communist. This is a case very similar to that of Jones.

3. Ethnic and Racial Minority Rights. These are not, of course, just matters of tolerance and understanding. They involve, for the conscientious, efforts to bring the American promise of equality a little nearer to reality. As one illustration of our efforts, the UFSJ is participating before the U. S. Supreme Court at the present time in the important Kansas segregation case, that of Oliver Brown and others *versus* the Board of Education of Topeka and others. In this, the UFSJ has joined as a friend of the court *(amicus curiae)* in the case with the American Civil Liberties Union, American Ethical Union, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and Japanese American Citizens League.

This case is an effort to force the State of Kansas to admit Negro children to the elementary public schools of Topeka on an unsegregated basis. But let us not forget: The ones who make possible such cases are not the UFSJ and its associates. The heroes are Oliver Brown, Mrs. Richard Lawton, Mrs. Sadie Emmanuel, and all the others who are fighting as appellants in difficult cases to gain the rights of American citizens for their children and the children of us all.

Mr. Brown, Mrs. Lawton, Mrs. Emmanuel, and the others are the ones who still have in their adulthood a measure of that spirit of idealism parents see and love and fear in their children as infants. They are ones who, though members of an oppressed minority, take steps along a road toward what might become a twentieth century crucifixion rather than turn their backs upon the teachings of our moral heritage.

In addition, there are four other anti-segregation cases pending before the U. S. Supreme Court in which representatives of the UFSJ have participated in one respect or another.

Representatives of the UFSJ are also, among other projects in this area, participating in the work of the Commission on Unitarian Intergroup Relations which is helping the denomination to think through again its commitments and its current behavior patterns especially in interracial integration.

4. Defense of Education. In this connection Unitarians should always think of such Unitarian heroes as Vashti McCollum, who carried her fight against released time for sectarian education to a victory in the U. S. Supreme Court and is still lecturing and fighting for this cause.

There are others who are carrying this great torch. Here are a few lines from the farewell to his students written by a Humanities professor dropped from his college staff because he refused to answer questions put to him by a McCarran sub-committee. He said:

> The critical and spiritual approach which I tried to communicate to you is not merely mine. It springs up wherever there is a genuine search for what may liberate the powers which slumber in man. They lie hidden in all, particularly in those who are young of spirit. It has ever been the despair of the dark forces that no matter how much they destroy, there ever circulates new, fresh blood, as Mephistopheles puts it in Goethe's "Faust." The more rawly, the more monstrously or the more formalistically these forces operate, the more they help to awaken the living conscience and power of man. This ever-renewed conscience of the young is guaranty that such outrage, whether manifested in open terror or hidden behind a rigidly applied formula, will not remain victorious.

Here is a statement of faith in man, whatever we might think of the behavior of its writer, which we would all do well to take into our hearts.

5. Peace, the fifth major concern of the UFSJ, has almost become a word one should not talk about. A major tragedy of the 1940's and 1950's has been that few people any more dare to talk about and to plan and agitate for peace. It sounds too subversive.

Despite all this, the UFSJ urges careful weighing of all constructive efforts making for the establishment of a just and enduring peace. It suggests especially the study of the Quaker Peace Plan and of proposals to develop a Federal World Government on the foundations of the United Nations.

Some of the most courageous work for peace is being carried on now, in my estimation, by our religious relatives, the Friends. They have led the fight against Universal Military Training. They have tried in every way they can to tear little holes at least in the Iron Curtain. They have fought so vigorously for peace that they have even been mentioned by the irresponsible smearers as possibly harboring subversive influences. Fortunately for us all, the Friends have long had experience with being called subversives, and they have refused to be abashed by demagogues.

Let us hope that we Unitarians will learn more from our friends, the Friends, and do much more to aid and cooperate with them in their valuable work.

With the practical men—the experts in expediency—all too well-supported these days, the common situation in most times and places, the UFSJ is helping to restore some balance by fighting for the social application of religion, for the furtherance of justice and mercy through the social gospel. With the resources available to us, we feel that this can best be done through aiding those incautious and irritating persons who devote their lives to great humanitarian causes.

Old Age—Without Tears

VICTOR S. YARROS

Few writers have told the whole truth respecting Old Age—its miseries and its advantages. At the age of ninety, or on the eve of that age, one knows that he, or she, is indeed old. You may not *feel* old, you may have all your faculties, or nearly all, but you cannot deny, nor do you wish to deny that you *are* old. You may not boast of the fact, and you may neither sigh nor groan over it. But a change has occurred in your attitude toward things and toward human beings. Some say that you have learned wisdom, are more philosophical, more tolerant, more indifferent to little failures, disappointments, and, at the same time, less fervent or enthusiastic if successes and pleasures come to you. I am aware of the change in my disposition and reactions, and I am not sorry—nor glad.

Friends and acquaintances have asked me to what qualities or habits, or rules, I ascribe my "privilege" of belonging to the small minority of nonagenarians. Have I a message for others, a theory, a code whereby others, if they love life, may prolong it?

No; I have no message and no formula. I am and always have been moderate in all things—eating, drinking, sleeping, exercise, so-called, making love. This is not, in my case, a virtue. I have not been tempted to overdo, to overindulge. I was born a moderate. The gospel of simple living and high thinking has always appealed to me. I am fond of champagne and French patisserie, but a little of these luxuries satisfies me. I have averaged, literally, two drinks a week—one cocktail and one highball, before or with the evening dinner. Twice a year I allow myself champagne—to welcome the New Year and to observe a family anniversary—not my own.

Manifestly, these habits have not shortened my life or injured my health. Teetotalers will not sympathize with me, but I have no sympathy with them, either.

Married twice, I have never wanted or had children. I have not felt the obligation to help people the world. I *have* felt the obligation to work for justice, magnanimity, and mercy. I lost my religious faith at the early age of fifteen, and became an Agnostic before reading a single book or pamphlet on atheism and rationalism. I have written and spoken frankly and plainly to all sorts of audiences on Humanism and rationalism, and I believe that I would have fought for these causes had that been necessary.

Born and educated, in part, in the Russian Ukraine, I escaped from czarist and reactionary tyranny at the age of nineteen and, probably, from exile to Siberia or a worse fate. I had joined at sixteen the Socialist-revolutionist party and served the cause of freedom as librarian of underground, illegal books, and editor of a revolutionary journal. These were grave offenses, and several arrests had shown that the military police had some information concerning our organization and activities. Older and richer friends advised me to avoid risks and leave the country. Emigration to America was the result.

As a naturalized citizen of this country, I have had no occasion to join any "conspiracy" or any practically subversive organization. I have worked for American constitutional reforms, political and economic, and have never concealed my advanced opinions. I have written for many periodicals and newspapers, and have published some books and booklets. I still do considerable writing, and sometimes get checks for my stuff. Mostly, I write for radical and heretical periodicals, which have limited circulations and have to beg constantly for contributions to keep going.

I have made a good living, and have never been disemployed, never without a job or two. I have cultivated

and practiced, simultaneously, three distinct professions —journalism, law, and teaching. I am supposed to have been a "hard worker," but this is not really true. My work is also my fun and pleasure to a great extent. I am sorry for those—the majority, alas—to whom work is sheer drudgery, and who regard it as a curse and punishment—the Biblical view, by the way! It need not and ought not to be that. Fortunate are those who love their jobs and find them interesting, stimulating, absorbing. I have never cared for the customary fortnightly vacations. I have, as a rule, accumulated my vacations and gone to Europe when I had six or eight weeks to my credit. My employers—managing editors mostly—have been quite willing to grant me this unusual privilege, one reason being that I never failed to send them welcome editorials and articles during the vacation.

My philosophy has undergone no radical change in fifty years. I am a Philosophical Anarchist, and have little confidence in, or respect for, governments. Power corrupts, and very few men resist the temptation to abuse their power. On the other hand, government is obviously a necessary evil, since there are too many anti-social bipeds in the most civilized societies—burglars, thieves, kidnapers, psychopathic killers, cruel and malicious ape-men. It is idle to demand the abolition of government. We need it. This is why I am also a Fabian, evolutionary Socialist or Collectivist. There is no real inconsistency between the two principles, but it takes maturity, ripeness, experience to arrive at *that* conclusion.

Is life worth living, we are often asked. Clarence Darrow said "No," but he did not mean it. He loved life and hated the thought of death—total extinction. It is that thought which led to his emotional pessimism. Life is tragic in the last analysis, but much of it is pleasant and sweet. The clinging to it despite illness and pain, despite disappointments, is perfectly natural and not at all irrational.

I agree with H. G. Wells—the span of life is still too short. The centenarians are too few. Science will probably steadily increase their number. *Vive la Vie!*

Our Epidemic of Boredom

GEORGE LAWRENCE PARKER

The most anti-spiritual and anti-human danger that threatens society today is mankind's universal mood of boredom. The epidemic of dull dissatisfaction pervades no one part of the globe but rages equally in Cairo, Teheran, and New York. We are near the point of realizing that we have invented robots that talk like humans and humans that talk like robots. We are beginning to feel that the exchange of chatter for chatter is a tiresome and fruitless conference of a flock of crows rather than the intelligent communication of intelligent men.

This prevailing mood of boredom is essentially anti-religious. However we may define religious faith, its fundamental presupposition is that life is a vitally interesting affair, a purposeful possibility of cooperation between man and his universe, which, in spite of slackened sails at times, progresses toward a goal of reality. In the genuine religious sense, this is the substance of faith or else faith is one more fiction of man's mind.

Whatever else Spinoza meant by his immortal phrase "the intellectual love of God," he expressed the yearning that man has for an activated unity and harmony between the departmental and conflicting parts of his nature. Spinoza is really putting his finger on the one living theme of present-day history, both of human institutions and human personality, which theme is none other than unity. His flashing phrase, the intellectual love of God, opens a vista where the gates are crashed that separate the soul from its rights and from the total significance of all men everywhere. Before this reality of togetherness boredom becomes unthinkable, its place being taken by confidence in what Robert Louis Stevenson called "our many-colored existence."

Spinoza's phrase also contains, in the final analysis, a pungent definition of democracy. For, so long as a comprehensible love of God is the class distinction of "the intellectuals," the substance of the Fatherhood of God and of the Brotherhood of Man are poisoned at their very roots. There is such a thing as prosperous relations between man and God, or between man and truth, that is possible for all men alike or else possible for none. Our wide-spread boredom of today springs from the restrictions we continue to place on the cooperative possibilities between God and man. The blueprint of those possibilities forms the very heart of the Gospel of Christ. He called it The Abundant Life. He crashed all the gates! Practically applied, he abolished boredom! Spiritually applied, he destroyed the dullness of autocracy everywhere, both in political forms and in ourselves. We shall defeat tyranny, autocracy, and Communism only as we base personal and political democracy on the foundation of freedom as found in religious faith. It is time that we realized that democracy is not only a religion but religion itself. In that fact lies every possible chance of destroying the monopoly called Communism; and also of destroying the modern mania of boredom.

If, as Gilbert K. Chesterton said, "Men are homesick in their homes and strangers under the sun," it is likely that we have built the wrong kind of home. It may be that to rebuild our home, entirely reconstructed, is now our next necessary operation. That duty at least holds out hope for a new valuation of life and a new flood tide of faith that will wipe out dullness, ennui, and despair. Spinoza's phrase is matched by two New Testament phrases, "The love of God which passeth knowledge," and "the peace of God which passeth understanding." They are similar vistas indicating that all gates are crashed! The spiritual airlift is never crashed.

The intellectual love of God is not a flossy term of mental superiority. It is the common and available measure of every kind of mind, according to each mind's hunger for truth. Its variety is the spice of eternity. Before its possible varied colors, monotony and boredom lose any reputable standing that they may possess. In the face of all desert stretches of existence, the deserts may blossom. Today's new forms of civilization and even of new interpretation of personality can be fitted to man's unseen future only by a spiritual faith that dares to challenge and defeat the old boredom and to say with Henry Churchill King, long ago president of Oberlin College, "If goodness is not interesting, goodness knows it ought to be"; or to say with Jesus, "The scribe instructed in the Kingdom of Heaven brings forth out of his treasure things old and new."

José Martí, Cuban Fighter for Freedom

JOHN H. HERSHEY

Last year was the centenary of the birth of the Cuban revolutionist and author, José Martí, who was born on January 28, 1853. He fought for freedom of Cuba from Spanish rule and also for freedom of the human mind from dogmas.

At the youthful age of sixteen Martí was imprisoned for a year and then deported to Spain where he used his time to advantage by studying at the universities. The reason was that the authorities considered that a discovered letter he had written was critical of Spanish rule over Cuba. Later in his life he was again deported to Spain. Other countries in which he lived were France, the United States, Mexico, Venezuela, and Guatemala. In the last-mentioned country he was professor of the history of philosophy. Finally in 1895 he landed on the shores of Cuba with a band of armed men to fight Spanish rule, but was killed in battle on May 19th of the same year at the age of forty-two.

With regard to Martí as a writer, it is amazing that during his relatively short life he wrote prose and poetry which add up to fifty published volumes! Since many of his ideas were put in brief, clear, and forceful language, we quote a few of them under the following ten headings:

Religion: "Christianity died at the hands of Catholicism."

"Articles of faith have not disappeared but have changed their form from Catholic dogmas to the teachings of science."

"There is no better religious rite than that of the free use of reason."

Providence: "Providence for man is none other than the result of his own works. We do not live at the mercy of an external force."

"We are our own criterion; we are our own laws; all depends on us; man is the logic and Providence of humanity."

"God exists in the idea of the good."

Philosophy: "The elements of philosophy are observation and reflection; any other kind of inquiry is not a firm basis for philosophy. Intuition is a far less efficacious aid; it is not a scientific or certain method of arriving at knowledge."

"In order to know, it is necessary to examine; the most credible source of truth is our own inquiring mind."

"A too cautious intelligence hinders the creative imagination; a disordered imagination, on the other hand, confuses and misleads intelligence."

Government: "Love of country is in me an ardent love of justice and of the well-being of man."

"The man who refuses to vote in a republic is a traitor to the republic and to man."

"In republics it is a duty to exercise one's rights."

Economics: "Tyranny, though abolished in politics, reappears in business."

"Monopoly is seen as an implacable giant at the door of the poor."

"Unusual fortunes are never accumulated by honest labor."

"The well-being of the many is preferable to the great wealth of the few."

The Negro: "The Negro is of noble blood."

"He is a criminal who tries to prevent the legitimate aspirations to life of a good and prudent race [Negro] which has already been oppressed enough."

Evils: "Evils do not triumph except when good men are indifferent."

"To see evils is to desire to cure them."

Man: "To understand human beings better I am studying insects which are not so bad as they seem and know as much as we do."

"Man is above nature and alters its harmony and light at will."

"Death is not a reality when one has accomplished his life's work well; though the thinker's brain becomes dust, the thoughts which it developed continue to live and to be fruitful."

Liberty: "Liberty is not only for us: it is our duty to extend it to others."

"Liberty must be practiced constantly so as not to degenerate into a banal formula."

"Liberty is the right of all men to be honorable and to think without hypocrisy. . . . A man who hides what he thinks is not an honorable man. A man who obeys a bad government without laboring to make it good is not an honorable man."

Happiness: "Happiness exists on earth and is achieved by the prudent exercise of reason, by the knowledge of the harmony of the universe, and by the constant practice of generosity."

THE FIELD

(Continued from page 2)

appearance of being primarily a political instrument of agitation and propaganda, it is actually an international conspiracy to seize power—political, social, economic — wherever it can.

"At the meeting of February 15 the Board directed the appointment of a special committee to study and report its recommendations regarding policies of the American Civil Liberties Union. Now, until such committee report is available, and for the information of the public as well as for the continuing guidance of its staff, the Board reiterates its considered opinion that the facts regarding the American Communist movement are well established. The American Communist movement, in sharp contradistinction to other American political parties, is subject to the dominance of the rulers of a foreign nation.

"Like all patriotic citizens the Board of Directors of the ACLU expects the government diligently to seek out and punish law-breakers, especially those guilty of treasonable acts against our country; and to provide for the integrity of federal employment. But we hold it to be an ominous violation of our own heritage and principles to condemn or punish, politically, socially, or economically, any person, Communist or other, without due process of law and procedure. The ACLU's defense has everywhere and always been, not of organizations or ideologies, but of the civil rights to which all persons under the jurisdiction of the Government of the United States are entitled by the Constitution."

—*ACLU Bulletin*

The Study Table

Three Books of the Liberal Mind

BEYOND MYTHOLOGY. *By Richard W. Boynton. Boston: The Beacon Press. $3.00.*

TODAY'S CHILDREN AND YESTERDAY'S HERITAGE. *By Sophia L. Fahs. Boston: The Beacon Press. 224 pp. $3.00.*

CULT AND CULTURE. *By V. Ogden Vogt. New York: The Macmillan Company. 267 pp. $3.25.* [*Included by request of the Editor.*]

Here are works strikingly alike. Yet each begins within a different discipline, the first with philosophy, the second with education, the third with social science.

All are drastically critical of traditional religion. None would entirely abandon Christianity if it could be sufficiently reformed. Each has positive proposals for religious reconstruction.

Bold, slashing strokes of adverse judgment upon orthodoxy abound in the pages of all three. Writes Boynton:

> What the prevailing forms of organized Christianity seem incapable of grasping is that science has given us a new universe to which their traditional beliefs are completely irrelevant. . . . Christianity has come to be at cross-purposes with the most potent and promising trends of modern civilization. . . . It has turned its back upon the supreme value of truth.

These words are matched in *Cult and Culture:*

> These, then, are the charges against the church: Ignorance, Idolatry and Lack of Cultivation. Numbers of the literati are outside the church not because they have found the religion of the church too high but because they find it too low.

The churches have "not maintained a culture of religion so true in ideas, so adventurous in morals and so rich in apprehensions as to be the living fountain source of the wholeness of American culture." Mrs. Fahs' moderate style does not conceal her sharp judgment:

> The old Story of Salvation is still being told in most of the churches of Christendom. Many of the miraculous events are glossed over or evaded, while at the same time the most important miraculous events are assumed to be true. . . . The churches and synagogues seem afraid to set forth the issues clearly.

Fortunately, two of these books give extended space fitted to the present renewed interest in the Bible. Mrs. Fahs pictures the old "Story of Salvation" from the first to the "Seventh Great Age of Time," as a drama alleged to be "planned and carried out by God." In contrast, she gives the new interpretation of the Bible as "the human drama of one people, Israel." Boynton more specifically tells about the underlying documents of the Old Testament Law and the enlightened messages of the great prophets. He recognizes the still hazy results of New Testament criticism, but speaks of early Christianity as "founded . . . on a system of growing and changing beliefs about him [Jesus] which, in the nature of things as we now understand it, he cannot possibly have held concerning himself." *Cult and Culture* is not without a Biblical reference. It quotes brief but telling excerpts from a remarkable paper by Frank Chamberlain Porter, "Things Greater and Less in the Bible," which exposes the thin golden thread of prophetic religion, small in quantity but in quality far above the lesser religion which bulks so large throughout the Bible.

The early chapters of *Beyond Mythology* propose a religion without the supernatural. With brilliant statements on almost every page, Dr. Boynton contrasts the outmoded concepts of supernaturalism with the world of modern science. In accordance with his well-known philosophy of values, he shows how the old dogmas do not represent facts, but are merely symbols or exemplifications of values. "Traditional beliefs are hopelessly antiquated and increasingly impossible for intelligent and informed people to hold, while Christian values are capable of rational extension and modification to serve the needs of all time to come." These chapters are directed to the bewildered novice, but they are of almost equal value to those well-read in these matters.

Mrs. Fahs' most useful contribution is in her own special field of religious education. With numerous concrete instances, she shows how childhood concepts arise and how natural curiosities may lead to natural faiths. She pours scorn upon the devastating dualisms of traditional theology and notes their complete repudiation by modern psychology and psychiatry. No religion can be taken upon mere authority. Rather, life experiences themselves, in a dozen different directions, may be so interpreted as to yield both immediate satisfactions and abiding spiritual understanding. Every liberal should give a copy of this book to his friends who are parents of young children.

Cult and Culture presents three main theses: Political order and cultural order require the undergirding of a pervasive spiritual order. American church religion has ceased to provide this necessary spiritual order. The acceptance and practice of religion as the complete life would solve the chief dilemmas and heal the most dangerous clefts in American culture. These theses are fortified by studies of societal culture from primitive to civilized, with extended attention to philosophy, government, commerce, and modern art. Each of these studies is worthwhile in itself. Together they picture an ominous situation in American culture.

The chief positive worth of these books is that they by-pass the dogmatic. All object to any fixed set of beliefs. Mrs. Fahs would replace accepted belief with exploration, Boynton with values, and Vogt with completeness of action. Boynton even complains that some of his Humanist friends still cling to certain beliefs as central in religion rather than values. Vogt suggests that neither theology nor ethics is central in religion but religious action is. Such an action is always a mental survey, moral projection, and emotional satisfaction. It assumes no previous set of beliefs. Beliefs and moral projects may change indefinitely but the formal pattern of complete action abides. It is the common denominator of all religion. Whether called worship or the cult or the religious moment or celebration, it is central in religion.

Both Boynton and Fahs essentially agree with this. Mrs. Fahs' *exploration* is an amalgam, a search for true ideas, for right duties and for "some awareness of the wonder that is in what is immediately theirs to touch and see and feel." Boynton's *values* are emotional realizations, but they have an intellectual or moral or esthetic base. In his view, all religions embrace the three kinds of value. Perhaps neither of these authors quite sufficiently sees that it is in the so-called cult aspect of religion that all values are harmonized by survey, enhanced by celebration, and projected by

decision. In any case, all these views of religion require no fixity of belief but promote perpetual growth and change under the stability of value realization in religious action. At any particular time and place, it is of course necessary to have and hold some definite content of ideas and convictions, but always as subject to revision.

Next in importance about these books is their remarkable agreement as to the content of their religious ideas as presently held. It is only a commonplace today to hold a process philosophy, that everywhere in the world is energy and change. It is not so commonplace to emphasize that everywhere the process is formative, as all these writers do. Boynton finds the world a "vast ongoing process . . . matter has become energy . . . but it acts as if it knew where it was going, and brings forth its flowers and fruit in due season." Mrs. Fahs says that "matter and energy are the same," and also that "unbelievably great powers of control are within the very nature of existence . . . the ability to create the new." According to *Cult and Culture,* "Reality is not only a process, it is a formative process," constantly making "untold billions of objects that are structures of order." Thus all agree that the two most impressive facts about the natural world are the facts of energy and order.

Notable also is the agreement as to another pair of coupled ideas, the idea of reality as unitary and that its universal life may be called God. Mrs. Fahs stoutly asserts a unitary reality. "We want a whole self in a world that is undivided and in a cosmos that is unitary." She goes on to add that "if we try to think of these powers of creativity as unified and we call the Self-renewing Power by the time honored and noble name of God such a God is immanent and natural, rather than transcendent and supernatural." Boynton writes that "he cannot dispense with the idea of God. God, for him, is the value aspect of the total universe of our experience, giving to our human values a cosmic dimension." Vogt is frankly pantheistic. "Reality is not divided. The good will of man is not separate from the power of nature. . . . The object of our worship is reality itself, the whole of it. . . . If you wish, you may simply say that the Whole of Reality is your God."

Such a philosophy is neither the old theism nor mere Humanism. The older Humanism was not enough cosmos-with-man to suit these writers and the older theism too transcendental. The important thing is that these realistic conceptions contain the seeds of a morality tremendous in power and a religion of sublime value.

In all these books are vigorous passages denouncing the old depravity-of-natural-man doctrine. All assert the natural wholeness of man rather than the body-mind and good-bad dualisms. Hence a man-power and man-responsibility morals. All assert that energy is everywhere and everywhere formative. Such a universal life of process and formation requires an ethics of mutuality, with many implications for government and industry. Integrated with it, man may be constantly finding the values of the world and should be constantly making more of them. Integrated with it, man finds both immediate fulfillment and perpetual progress.

These agreements are very close to the only ones upon which modern men can unite as the bases of a new and powerful ethics, with wide ranges of applications to personal and social life. Let no one, however, be blinded by them. They are notable and powerful, but they are tentative. Behind them is the primary agreement, that the deeps of religion are not found in particular ideas but in exploration, in values, in completeness of action. It is this primary agreement which might become the main hope of religious cooperation and new harmony in world affairs.

V. Ogden Vogt.

Penetrating Essays

Freedom Is the Right to Choose. *By Archibald MacLeish. Boston: The Beacon Press. 186 pp. $2.75.*

This little book contains thirteen penetrating essays by one of our most sensitive, discerning commentators upon the humanities and public affairs, written from 1943 through 1951. No other volume known to this reviewer brings out more forcefully or with greater clarity and feeling the fundamentals of the cause of freedom in the world today, particularly as it is embodied in the American heritage. There is some fragmentation and duplication such as is inescapable in a compilation; yet a flow of ideas runs through, expressed in prose that renders reading a delight.

The opening essay, bringing out that men recently living had talked to men who remembered the American Revolution, sets a tone of hope, based upon the fact that this nation is still young and has a long future before it. Those who think of the Declaration of Independence, the author says, "as a declaration of antiquated principles which must now be surrendered to the authority of a party or a church," should reflect how recent these principles are. The hope embodied in them, he insists, "has not gone out." "The time through which we are living is a revolutionary time and the revolution is . . . the revolution not of Marx but of Jefferson."

Two major themes are emphasized in the remaining essays. The first relates to the burning need for defining imaginatively the purpose of this nation in today's world. The second emphasizes the danger which resides in the threatened surrender of our American faith in man.

During World War II America's purpose needed formulation because failure to define that purpose "will affect our victory . . . and may, indeed, lose us our victory." Victory and peace needed to be defined in terms not merely of military triumph and a subsequent armed truce, but of "victory for the people" and of subsequent "labor in common . . . for life's sake." Despite this need, there was "no talk of affirmative purpose—none, to be blunt, of a people's dream of its future." We debated "bitterly whether business should do it or government should do it, but what it is that government should do or private business should do," we did not even ask. Because our forefathers were able to imagine "a free man's government," they were able to create it; and they built the loveliness of the villages of early America, because these, too, they were able initially to construct in their dreams. We have retained, nostalgically, the physical images they devised as our ideals; but these images constitute the "landscape of a world that no man living could expect to see except behind him." The dream of the future, of how we really want America to look in an industrial system serving a vast population, has still to be dreamed. And so has the dream of how "men should achieve a life with machines as disciplined and honorable and as free as the life that Jefferson believed they could

achieve with mules and oxen."

Came then the "peace" and with it the belief that another conflict is inevitable, blighting men's hopes for the future and producing on both sides of the East-West controversy new orthodoxies which are "not affirmations of positive faith" but "confessions of insecurity and fear." Our brilliant military victory and arrival at the summit of world power brought only pre-occupation with Russia and a foreign policy which consisted of reactions to hers. Ignoring the still-continuing world revolution which America began in the eighteenth century and should have pushed forward, the nation surrendered to "the conclusion that the realization of the historic American purpose must be deferred and subordinated to the defeat of the Russian purpose."

In the process of losing their own purpose, the American people have begun to lose their faith as well—faith in people and their capacity to govern themselves and in the institutions through which self-government operates. Suspicion and hysteria have tended to take its place—more intensely so, it may be noted, since these essays were written. Following the original McCarthy attack on the State Department:

> We turned our backs on those who talked about decent living standards for the peoples of Asia and Africa and committed ourselves instead to the men who proposed to encircle Communism with a ring of steel. We elected a destiny of permanent negation in place of the destiny of endless affirmation which had created our nation and our history as a people.

Because we did so, we may end by accepting some counter-Communism, "only to learn too late that it is counter-American as well."

Through the Supreme Court we have now, in the Smith Act case, rendered punishable the advocacy of revolutionary views; and the decision has been applauded as a victory for freedom. We seem to choose "freedom-from-Communism" over freedom itself, failing to recognize that "when freedom is sacrificed, freedom-from-Communism suffers also." But,

> The American Proposition is the proposition, advanced at the beginnings of the Republic and enacted into law when the Constitution was adopted, that a man's freedom to be a man, and to find and speak the truth that is in him, is more important than the protection of any accepted belief, an[y] official verity, against criticism, against challenge, against dissent. More important not only to that man but to all men, to the society which all men compose, to the nation, to the world, to life itself. It is a proposition, in other words, which rests upon an act of faith, the most courageous of all earthly acts of faith—an act of faith in man and in God whom man, in the freedom of his conscience and his thought, can find.

Unless we can win our way back to this faith, the American dream is ended. Today it is suspended. We have halted and are starting to liquidate the vast works of government that were commencing, inadequately, to transform our continent according to a modern plan. We have descended further into the abyss of fear, suspicion, and hatred. In the Autumn, 1953, issue of the *American Scholar,* Mr. MacLeish writes:

> The underlying failure is a failure of education. We have increasingly ignored the human things, the things of the mind and spirit, the proofs of man's dignity and worth, in the teaching of our schools and even in our universities; and we are paying the inevitable price. Generations of schoolboys taught only techniques and tools produce generations of men to whom only techniques and tools are important, men who have no comprehension of their own resources or those of their neighbors, men who know nothing of those great conceptions of human destiny, whose patterns of life and death, which our kind has produced over countless generations.
>
> In the struggle for the defense of human freedom, everything depends on the vitality of the belief in man. . . .

Can we yet repair the deficiencies and the loss of faith, produced by failure to recognize and act upon the message in this book, which these words proclaim?

RALPH F. FUCHS.

A Who's Who for Humanists

HUMANISM AS THE NEXT STEP. *By Lloyd and Mary Morain. Boston: The Beacon Press. 111 pp. $2.00.*

An excellent compendium on the present status of the Humanist movement, but probably confusing for beginners. For instance, Humanism is a Fourth Faith (Chap. 1) but is a Third Way (Appendix by Hector Hawton). The reader is spared the fifteen points of the Humanist Manifesto, but is presented with Humanism's Four Facts (page 4), the Seven Ideas (p. 17), the Six Basic Beliefs (p. 29), the Nine Activities (p. 72), the Four Principles (p. 75), the Five Fundamentals (p. 91), and with the answer to the Seven Questions (p. 94).

The Morains have given a well-documented testament of their own faith, and have shown by listing 180 others that they are in respectable company. There is a most helpful discussion on a neglected aspect of Humanism in the two chapters on meeting individual needs. The shortcoming of the book is really the failure of Humanism itself, viz., its reliance upon wordy statements in lieu of specific achievements growing out of movements such as organized labor, Socialism, and even the New Deal.

For instance, in applying Humanism to social problems (chap. 7), there is a noteworthy absence of specific names and places. The omission of the name of Corliss Lamont from the discussion on American understanding of Russia is a strange oversight indeed. Auguste Comte should not have been left out of Chapter 2, and Karl Menninger should not have been included in Chapter 1.

The thesis that here is a "Fourth Faith" raises a semantic problem because, as the authors point out, a large number of the people in the Humanist movement are also active in one or the other of the organizations representing the three faiths. John Dewey was more accurate when he termed the movement as a "Common Faith."

HAROLD P. MARLEY.

War and Cultural Patterns

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS OF PEACE AND WAR. *Edited by T. H. Pear. New York: Philosophical Library. 262 pp. $4.75.*

This is a symposium on some of the psychological aspects of war and peace, written mainly by British psychologists. It discusses the relationship between war and cultural patterns, personality, personal aggressiveness, and similar topics. As such it throws light on some of the psychological aspects of the problem. It does not attempt a comprehensive analysis of the psychological problems involved. It is a valuable contribution, although far less adequate than *Human Nature and Enduring Peace* which came out five years earlier (Gardner Murphy, ed.). The bibliography is brief, but excellent.

SYLVANUS M. DUVALL.

Western Unitarian Conference

700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago 15, Illinois

RANDALL S. HILTON, Executive Secretary

OVERSTREET AT JOINT MEETING

Dr. Harry Overstreet, well-known author and lecturer, will speak at a joint meeting of the Western Unitarian Conference and the American Ethical Union in the Sheldon Memorial at St. Louis. The meeting is scheduled for 8:00 p.m., Friday, April 30, 1954.

Bonaro Overstreet, wife of Dr. Overstreet and equally well-known, will speak at the Women's Alliance meeting of the Western Unitarian Conference, Friday afternoon, at the First Unitarian Church of St. Louis.

Other notable speakers who will appear on the W.U.C. program are Thomas Eliot, E. T. Buehrer, and Raymond B. Bragg.

The conference meetings begin Friday noon, April 30, and will continue until noon, May 2, 1954. The First Unitarian Church of St. Louis is acting as host to the Conference. The official hotel is the Roosevelt, Delmar and Euclid Avenues, St. Louis, Missouri.

MINISTERS INSTITUTE

The Western Conference Branch of the Unitarian Ministers Association will hold its annual institute in St. Louis, April 29 and 30. Among the speakers scheduled are Dr. Arno Haack, Washington University, St. Louis; Rev. George Lee, Editor of the *British Inquirer,* London, England; Dr. Wallace W. Robbins, President of Meadville Theological School, Chicago; and Rev. Waldemar Argow, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

GENEVA CONFERENCE

Initial publicity on the Midwest Unitarian Summer Assembly has been mailed to the churches and fellowships. The Assembly will be held at College Camp, on Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, June 27 to July 3, 1954.

It can be announced now that Dr. Geoffrey Shepherd, Professor of Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, is to give the morning lectures. Dr. Shepherd is chairman of the Ames Unitarian Fellowship.

The registration fee for Geneva is $5.00 and should be sent to Mrs. Esther Heinrich, 132 N. Menard, Chicago 44, Illinois.

SELLOUT

The Lenten Manual, *Taking Down the Defenses,* written by Rev. Arthur Foote of St. Paul, has been completely sold out. The first printing was gone before Ash Wednesday. The second printing lasted but a few days. Maybe this Manual will be used again another year. So far only one Lenten Manual has ever been repeated. It was *Pattern on the Mountain,* by Dr. E. Burdette Backus.

CHICAGO AREA EXTENSION

In accordance with the recommendation of the Unitarian Universalist Joint Committee on Cooperation that each denomination be responsible for its own extension program, the Board of the Western Unitarian Conference at its January meeting authorized the President, E. T. Buehrer, to appoint an Extension Committee for the Chicago Metropolitan Area. The President appointed the following committee: Mrs. Randall S. Hilton, Chairman; Ashley Hale, G. Richard Kuch, Wallace W. Robbins, and E. T. Buehrer. The committee has been meeting weekly and will make definite recommendations to the Board of the Conference at its meeting in St. Louis.

Other sub-regional areas which have set up Extension Committees are the Iowa Unitarian Association and the Michigan Area Unitarian Conference.

RADIO—TV

Another committee authorized by the Board of the Conference is one to survey and evaluate the use of radio and TV by Unitarian churches. The President, E. T. Buehrer, appointed to this committee: I. J. Domas, Lincoln, chairman; John W. Cyrus, Omaha; and John W. Brigham, Sioux City.

The Minnesota Conference is interested in the use of radio. A committee has been appointed to investigate the possibility of a Unitarian radio program on a Minnesota radio network.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The Nominating Committee, consisting of Kenneth C. Walker, Bloomington, Illinois, chairman; John W. Cyrus, Omaha; John K. Hammon, Indianapolis; Mrs. Francis Hughes, Detroit; Homer Jack, Evanston, Illinois; and John A. Kinneman, Bloomington, Illinois, has made the following nominations for membership on the Board of the Western Unitarian Conference for a term of four years: Mrs. Christian Andreason, Springfield, Illinois; Rev. Hurley Begun, Colorado Springs, Colorado; and Rev. Lewis McGee, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

NOMINEES

Mrs. Harry Burns, Cincinnati, a member of the Board of the Western Unitarian Conference, has been nominated for Treasurer of the General Alliance. Mrs. Malcolm Priest, Pittsburgh, the present Treasurer, has been nominated for President.

MONEY! MONEY!

Unitarian churches have known for a long time that it takes money to operate an efficient and adequate program and to provide facilities for expansion. However, they have been slow to use professional help in raising funds. Churches in the Pacific Coast Conference were the first to use professional assistance. Churches in the Western Conference have been quick to pick up the idea. Ann Arbor and Evanston have completed such campaigns. First Church, Cincinnati, and Third Church, Chicago, are now conducting such campaigns. The churches in the Pacific Coast Conference—Seattle, Portland, Berkeley, Phoenix—and those in the Western Conference have all used the Wells Organizations.

DETROIT-NORTHWEST

Rev. Frank Gentile was installed as minister of the new Northwest Unitarian-Universalist Church, Detroit, Sunday, March 14. Emerson Schwenk, Haverhill, Massachusetts, preached the sermon. Dr. Tracy Pullman, Detroit-Central; Edward Redman, Ann Arbor; Russell Lincoln, Birmingham; and Randall Hilton also participated in the service.

INDIANAPOLIS-ALL SOULS

Rev. Jack Mendelsohn, Jr., was installed as minister of the All Souls Unitarian Church, Indianapolis, on March 28. Dr. Frederick May Eliot, President of the American Unitarian Association, preached the sermon. E. T. Buehrer and Randall Hilton participated, representing the Conference. Dr. Eliot also christened the new Mendelsohn—Kurt Addison.

INDIANAPOLIS-NORTH CHURCH

What started out to be a lecture by General Mark Clark, sponsored by the North Unitarian Church, Indianapolis, turned into a civic celebration. General Clark, a former resident of Indianapolis and a close personal friend of Dr. C. O. McCormick, former chairman of the North Church Board, was welcomed "home" by the Governor, the Mayor, and a parade. The lecture was given in the Tabernacle, Indianapolis' largest hall. It was a great success and netted the North Church $2,500.

FREE RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIP

Harold Marley, who has served as associate minister for several years without pay, has been employed by the Free Religious Fellowship as Administrative Coordinator for four months. Plans are also nearly completed for settling a full-time minister beginning September 1. Action by the Extension Committee at its next meeting should make the arrangement final.

MADISON

The Women's Alliance sponsored a special day, Sunday, April 4th. They invited to this program women from all the fellowships in Wisconsin.

SIOUX CITY

Sioux City, Iowa, has purchased a new place. It has sufficient ground for expansion, and plans are under way to raise funds for this purpose.

CHICAGO-MIDWEST COUNCIL

The Midwest Council of Religious Liberals (The Chicago Area Sub-Region) is sponsoring its second annual Thomas Jefferson Birthday Celebration. It is being held April 13 at the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel. Professor T. V. Smith, noted author, scholar, and wit, will be the speaker; his subject, "Jefferson, Apostle of the American Dream." Others participating in the program include Curtis W. Reese, Austin Kiplinger, Charlton Heston, Carleton Fisher, and Preston Bradley.

On April 4, as a forerunner to this meeting, most of the ministers in the area preached on the subject "The American Ideal—Jefferson or McCarthy."

ALTON

The Alton Unitarian Church sponsored a group dynamics workshop. Prof. Max R. Goodson, Ohio State University, was the leader.

ST. LOUIS

St. Louis went over the top on the United Appeal drive by 20 per cent for a total of $3,004.

PARK FOREST

The Park Forest Fellowship is conducting a membership and finance drive, working toward achieving church status.

DENVER

Plans are progressing for relocation and a new building.

BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS

A series of five Sunday morning sermons were devoted to "Resources for Living." The minister and three experts, all members of the church, made the presentation. The subjects were as follows:

1. Religion and Our Inner Ramparts—Rev. Kenneth Walker.
2. The Resources of Art—Dr. Kilgore.
3. The Resources of Poetry and Prose—Dr. Esther Vinson.
4. The Resources of Music—Professor Bohnhorst.
5. Panel Discussion—(based on previous presentations).

CINCINNATI-ST. JOHNS

A special service honoring the People's Church of Cincinnati and the late Dr. Bigelow, minister of People's Church for many years, was held February 28. It was also an expression of appreciation for the gift from People's Church of approximately $25,000.

IOWA CITY

The old parsonage at No. 10 Gilbert Street has been remodelled. The entire downstairs has been furnished for church school and parish activities. The second floor was made into an apartment.

LINCOLN

Rev. I. J. Domas, minister of the Lincoln Unitarian Church, is moderator of a TV panel program sponsored by the Lincoln Committee on Human Relations. It is a public service program which considers timely and controversial topics and issues.

FELLOWSHIPS

Two new fellowships have been organized, making a total of 34 in the Western Conference. They are the Waukesha County Unitarian Fellowship of Pewaukee, Wisconsin, and the Dixon Unitarian Fellowship of Dixon, Illinois.

DAVENPORT

Rev. Waitstill H. Sharp, former Director of the Chicago Council Against Discrimination, and of the Commission on Human Relations at Gary, Indiana, has been called to the ministry of the Unitarian Church of Davenport. He will begin his work there in the late summer. Mr. Sharp was minister of the Unitarian Society of Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, from 1936-44.

BOOKS WORTH READING

People's Padre
By Emmett McLoughlin.
Beacon Press. $3.95.

The Urge to Persecute
By A. Powell Davies.
Beacon Press. $2.75.

The Human Tradition.
By H. J. Blackham.
Beacon Press. $3.00.

In Quest of a New Ethics
By Charles Mayer.
Beacon Press. $4.00.

The Book Department of the Western Unitarian Conference will be happy to fill your order. (Discount for Church Book Tables.)